1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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According to the April 1957, official records, 36 ninety Hsin Hsing

311 423 427 village farm families cultivated 61.74 *chia* (147.6 acres) of arable land as owners and/or tenants.[13] Of this total, 16.29 *chia* (38.9 acres) were still held by thirty-eight families as tenant land. The average amount of arable land cultivated per household was 0.68 *chia* (1.6 acres).[14]

Because of the limited amount of land available, most villagers who want to buy or rent land for cultivation cannot be too particular about its location. They are usually willing to acquire any piece of land, so long as it is in the general area and can be conveniently reached by bicycle. Thus a villager's land usually consists of several tiny plots scattered throughout the surrounding countryside. On the average, the size of the separate plot is well under 0.5 *chia* (0.7 acres), which means that villagers must spend much of their time shuttling back and forth among their scattered small fields. If the fieldwork demands only a few light tools, the trip by bicycle is fast enough, but if it requires a water buffalo and heavy equipment like a plow, the trip from field to field takes a great deal of time. However, having the plots scattered this way can also be an advantage: all the land cultivated by one villager is not necessarily dependent upon the same irrigation ditch or even perhaps the same irrigation network. Thus a shortage of water in one waterway need not effect all of a farmer's holdings.

[493] [492] [401] [312]

311 423 427 628 Many of the fields cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers are almost two miles away, on the far side of the two neighboring villages Ta Yu and Yung P'ing. For example, in the Yung P'ing area where Hsin Hsing villagers rent or own much land, the fields are cultivated by farmers from at least three different villages. One field may be adjoined on three sides by fields owned or held by farmers from Ta Yu, Yung P'ing, or Hsin Hsing. This, of course, means these villagers will have some relationship with each other, especially if the fields are irrigated. (See Land Tenure Map, Chapter 4, for details.) The proximity of fields held by men from different villages is especially common in the area around Hsin Hsing, since the villages here are so close together that there is not very much open land between them. There are also a number of Hsin Hsing-owned wet fields beyond the two-mile range of the village, which are therefore not shown on the land map. In fact, a few villagers cultivate relatively large plots of dry land almost six miles from the village, since these crops do not usually need constant attention. In these cases the land is either tenant land still owned by public enterprises or is formerly land publicly or privately owned sold to the tenant under the Land Reform Acts of 1951–1952. The Hsin Hsing villagers originally rented these lands after the last war, when the competition for land was at its height.

423 428 [427] These fragmented and scattered landholdings result from several factors. The insufficiency of land caused villagers to buy or rent land wherever it was available. In addition, the system of inheritance of

1:Gallin E-4.5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

landownership rights as well as the types of ownership patterns in Taiwan tend to foster such fragmentation and scattering of landholdings. The ownership of land is for the most part inherited in equal shares by the family's sons, including any son or sons by adoption. Although by law daughters may also inherit land, since they are usually married out of the family they do not participate in the inheritance.

All of the land owned by villagers comes under the official heading of privately owned land. Land can be owned by individuals or families under individual or joint ownership. Individual-ownership land is a piece of surveyed land which is owned and registered in the name of a single owner. Joint-ownership land is land surveyed as a single field and recorded in the name of one representative owner which is actually owned jointly by a number of people; each of the joint owners owns a portion of the surveyed field and cultivates his plot separately. The third kind of private-ownership land is corporate land. There are only a few relatively insignificant instances in Hsin Hsing of village patrilineal kinship groups (*tsu*) owning corporate land. In each case the landholding is small and is recorded in the name of the eldest *tsu* male—who in some instances has long since died. Most often *tsu* land is leased—usually on a rotation basis—to *tsu* family members. The rent paid is used to finance *tsu* functions such as the upkeep of the *tsu*'s main ancestral-worship room (no Hsin Hsing village *tsu* has an ancestral temple) and sometimes the expenses of ancestral worship. The land reform law has technically eliminated the category of such *tsu* or corporate landholdings.

Neither the earlier Japanese nor the present land tenure system permits subtenants in Taiwan; there is no such concept of ownership or tenancy of "subsoil" or "land surface" as was found to exist in many instances on the mainland (as discussed in Fei, 1939:174–196). According to both the law or official records and the villagers' concept of land tenure, a family—usually under the name of its senior male member—owns land. The land may be cultivated by that family itself or, for various reasons, leased to a tenant. The tenant cultivates the land and pays a predetermined rent—usually in kind—to the landlord. Until the 1949–1953 Land Reform Acts, tenants had no rights on the land except those granted by the landlord. Land reform has radically changed this. Today tenants and their families have certain rights on the land they cultivate and therefore a greater degree of security.

In spite of the pressures of the constantly increasing population on the land, there has been little development of any kind of important local industry. Except in some scattered brickworks and menthol-distilling factories in the area, there is little demand for the labor of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

from Hsin Hsing. The reason for such diversified joint-ownership groupings may very well go back to the initial period of settlement in the area. 423

However, the most common type of joint ownership in Hsin Hsing is holdings of groups of cousins or brothers. Inheritance of family land is generally the reason for such ownership groupings. Usually, cousins who are joint owners are members of separate households. The land originally belonged to their fathers as joint land, or to their paternal grandfather, or perhaps to some even more distant relative. 423 593 605 [428].

On the other hand, the situation varies when the joint owners are brothers. If family division has already taken place, then each brother will cultivate his share of the land independently. If division has not occurred, the brothers work the whole plot as a common unit, just as they manage all of the economic affairs of such a household. Sometimes brothers may have recently inherited the joint shares from their father. In other cases, the brothers may have recently purchased the land as joint-ownership land. Some have officially listed the exact share of each brother to eliminate any problems or disputes over the land when the family divides. 423 593

The joint ownership of land became a serious disadvantage for some farmers as a result of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Owners of joint-ownership portions of land are really no different from the owners of individually owned plots. However, according to the reform act of 1953 (T'ang, 1954:186, Chapter II, Article 8), any joint-ownership land which is not tilled by the owner but is rented out instead, and is not owned by certain specified helpless people, e.g., the old, the infirm, orphans, is liable for expropriation by the government or purchase by the tenant. This singling out of joint-ownership land was done by the government in an attempt to do away with this very common but administratively complex type of ownership which is "primitive and confused" (Chang, 1954:80). While individually owned land could be retained by the noncultivating landlord in amounts up to three *chia* (if medium-grade land), the law did not provide for retention of any portion by joint owners of land. 423 656

As a result of this purely technical difference, the law has worked a hardship on many owners who owned small shares of joint-ownership land which they rented out. One such example in Hsin Hsing village was a man who owned a few small portions of joint-ownership land. Since he held an outside job, his family worked one of the small plots and rented out the other; the income contributed to their livelihood. This rented-out land, on which a share of the family's income depended, was expropriated by the government.

Corporate or community-ownership land is the third type of private-ownership land. In Hsin Hsing village, as in most villages in Taiwan, 423 618

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of his father-in-law, work for the family as he would for his own, give at least the second-born child the wife's surname, and sometimes even promise that he and any offspring from the marriage will worship the wife's ancestors. In return, the adopted husband's family is spared the usual heavy expenses of marriage, and the man himself gets a wife whom he could not normally afford. He can raise a family, even if it will not be fully under his own authority for a number of years. Most important of all, he is promised either a definite sum of money or rice or a certain amount of land at the expiration of the contract period.

At the end of the contract period the adopted husband with his wife and children may remain in the wife's family home if they get along well with them, especially with her younger brother's family. More often, the family will divide into two separate units, although the wife with her adopted husband and children may remain in the same house or village with her family. However, when the two families do not get along well and the husband is too bothered by his inferior status in his wife's village, he may move his wife and children to his own village if there is room in his family's house or village and if he can manage to earn a living there. It seems to be more common for the adopted husband to take his wife and children to another place after fulfilling his contract than to remain with his wife's family. Although an adopted husband who has a forceful personality may assume actual authority over his family, after the separation from the wife's family, it is the wife and not the husband who is officially recognized as the *chia chang* of the family.

Sometimes a husband is adopted into a family which has no sons in order to furnish descendants. The adoption of a husband for this purpose differs in one important way from the adoption of a husband when the wife has a younger brother. The living arrangement of the adopted husband in the girl's family is likely to become permanent. Since there is no younger brother and his family to complicate family relations, the adopted husband and his wife and children may simply continue to live with the wife's family and therefore transmit the names of both families through their children.

Whether the family of the wife and her adopted husband remains in her family's house or goes to live in his natal village or family home, the general manner of naming children and assigning descent lines is the same. Usually, the first child is given the father's surname, and the second child—whether it is a boy or a girl—receives the mother's family name. All subsequent children bear the father's surname. The one child bearing the surname of the mother's family will inherit property through that family, and is responsible for carrying on the mother's line and the worship of her ancestors. If, however, no child is given the mother's family name, as is sometimes the case if there is no property

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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to be inherited from her family, then no matter where the family lives, all the children are supposed to worship both sets of ancestors. If there is property, once the second child has received his inheritance he or she and the mother worship the mother's ancestors, while the father (adopted husband) and the children in his descent line worship his ancestors. When the second child (who has been given the mother's surname) is a girl, it is not unlikely that a husband will be brought in for her in order to carry on the maternal line. There are cases in Taiwan, and one in Hsin Hsing village, where a village family for several generations has become in a sense matrilineal as well as matrilocal, at least until a male heir is born.

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Barclay (1954b:228–229) finds that this matrilocal form of marriage, where the husband is adopted and lives with his wife's family, has been very common in Taiwan for many years; between 1906 and 1930, 15 to 20 percent of all Taiwanese marriages were of this matrilocal type. However, the frequency of the practice has been decreasing, until in 1943 only 6.2 percent of all marriages in Taiwan were of this form (Barclay, 1954b:229, Table 69). Barclay notes that this decrease has been constant, for "when men were no longer obliged to marry on these degrading terms, they began to shun this type of marriage. Because it was inconsistent with the rest of the family system, matrilocal marriage presented a special occasion for discord—men were led to expect one kind of familial role as husbands, but required to accept another one that was inferior."

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There are only six adopted husbands recorded for Hsin Hsing village. It is thus difficult to see any tendency toward or against the practice in Hsin Hsing village itself. These six adoptions have taken place since approximately 1900, and according to the present ages of the surviving men, four were adopted into the village well before World War II and only two were adopted afterward. These same records show that only one Hsin Hsing villager was adopted out of the village between 1949 and 1957.

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Remarriage

According to the ideal norms of Chinese society a woman should marry only once, and a young widow who does not remarry is often greatly honored. A woman's natal family is responsible only for arranging her first marriage; any subsequent marriage is theoretically her own responsibility. The family of her first husband, whether he died or there was a divorce, also bears little responsibility for helping her to remarry.

In actuality, however, many divorced or widowed women do remarry. And a second marriage, although never given the same honor as the first marriage, may nevertheless be sanctioned by society accord-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

tion. Adoptions, like marriage, require a go-between or broker to make the necessary contacts and arrangements. The most frequent adoption is that of a girl. There are two forms of this, although the forms are not always differentiated at the time of adoption. One is the adoption of a girl as the future wife of one of the sons of the family. (This arrangement was briefly mentioned earlier as the *siaosiv* system of marriage.) Upon adoption the girl, in the Hsin Hsing area, is called either a *hsi fu* (a daughter-in-law) or *tung yang hsi* (a girl brought up in the home of her fiance). The other called a *yang nu* (adopted daughter), is the adoption of a girl who, much like a regular daughter, will live with the family until she reaches the age to be married out.

The other major adoption type is that of a son to worship the ancestors and to perpetuate the family by producing descendants. Although such a son is called a *yang tzu* (adopted son), he has all the rights of inheritance of a natural son of the family, at least by local practice.

Both types of adoption are socially accepted and legally recognized and are entered in the official village and family records in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. In each case the child is listed according to the special term designating that specific type of adopted person.

Adoption of a Daughter

Of the many reasons for the adoption of a daughter, one of the most basic is that the adopting family has no children while the girl's family either has too many girl children or is simply unable to afford the expense of raising her. Sometimes, when an infant has died and its mother is despondent, the family may adopt a baby girl to comfort the mother for the loss of her own child. In other cases a couple which has not been able to produce a first child may decide to adopt one (usually a girl), believing that having a child in the house will make it possible for the woman to conceive, or more accurately, that the adopted girl is supposed to invite in a baby boy (*chao ti*).

Another common reason for adopting a girl child, especially among poorer people, is as a future wife for one of the sons of the family. Such a marriage is much cheaper for both families, since it makes it unnecessary to have the usual expensive wedding. Other families who have no girls to do the family housework may adopt a girl with the idea that she will work for the family until the time she is married. However, if such a family has subsequent financial reverses, or if everyone becomes attached to the girl and finds that she is such a good worker that she could contribute much as a permanent part of the family, they may marry her to one of their own sons to keep her in the family. The feeling here is that so long as the family knows and values the girl, there is no sense in marrying her off to some other family only to bring an unknown girl into the house as a wife for their son. The

*583 591 611 [553] with the surname of their spouse, and in so doing they tactitly agree that their children will all follow in that line of descent. But while this form of marriage is recognized as legitimate, and is indeed taken as the model for matrilocal marriages, such marriages are not at all common in Hsiachichou. We know of only 2 marriages which could be classified as examples of this extreme form.

Much more common in the case of Hsiachichou is a form of marriage which involves a compromise between the paternal and maternal principlex. Rather than entirely resigning his proper position in his own line of descent, the male who makes such a marriage retains his own surname, and also makes provision that at least one of his male offspring will take this name. At the time of the marriage, for example, it may be agreed that the first born son will take the mother's surname, leaving the other children to acquire their descent in the normal way.

*583 591 606 [428] Men who make such marriages ordinarily take up more or less permanent residence with their wives' parents with the result that they become sons of the family in effect if not in name. They contribute their earnings and their labor to the general welfare of the family; they recognize the authority of the wife's father as head of the household; and they often inherit from their wife's parents. The extent of the obligations of such a husband to his wife's parents is considered a negotiable matter, however, and in some cases the man may only agree to spend some specific period of time as a member of the wife's household, the arrangement being that after this time has elapsed he is free to take his wife and children and establish an independent kê. In

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liēng-kià: and one who is kùe-páng-kià:. Tsuruo Okada quotes a proverb to the effect that a kùe-páng-kià: receives a full share of an inheritance while a biēng-liēng-kià: receives only a half share.[1] In Hsiachichou, however, the only distinction between the biēng-liēng-kià: and the kùe-páng-kià: is in terms of their origin. Once they have been admitted as members of the adopting family, children who were formerly the sons of agnates and those who were the sons of non-agnates occupy the same position. They are both sons of their foster families. They take their foster parents' surname and are thus obliged to produce male children to perpetuate the family line, and they are equally entitled to a share of whatever inheritance the foster parents bequeath to their descendants. That one is of the blood of the family line while the other is not does not seem to be a matter of any concern in Hsiachichou. As one informant explained, "It doesn't matter where you adopt a son. Once you adopt him he is your son."

The situation of the adopted daughter is very different. Whereas adopted sons are distinguished in terms of their status before adoption, adopted daughters are distinguished with reference to their status after adoption. An adopted male is always a son of his foster parents, but an adopted female may occupy any one of several statuses. She may be a daughter of the family; she may be a potential wife and daughter-in-law; or she may be simply a family servant. The existence of these three categories is most clearly reflected in naming customs and the application of the incest taboo. A girl who becomes a daughter of the adopting family substitutes their surname for that of her natal family,

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1 Usuru Okada, Kiso Shaki, op. cit., p. 7.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had married Gioq-ki to a young Taiwanese willing to enter their family as an adopted son and descendant, he could have provided the family with a future in the true Taiwanese sense of the word—a chain of descendants continuing for generations after the personalities of the present representatives are forgotten. Even if Gioq-ki and her husband had given one of their sons the Lim surname, obliging him to make offerings to his grandparents' ancestral tablets, there would have been some hope for a future family. Chang Jong-kuei, for reasons known only to him, was unwilling to give even this solace. Although he let his father-in-law believe that the oldest boy bore the Lim surname, he secretly registered him as a Chang.

The marriage of A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is yet to be arranged, and many childless couples have provided their link between past and future through the marriage of an adopted daughter. But times are changing; couples are making their own decisions about marriage partners; young men are now less willing to make the low prestige marriage that cuts them off from their own ancestors and joins them to someone else's. So-lan had little luck with Gioq-ki and it will be difficult to arrange a good match for A-hua. An adopted daughter's inheritance is always questionable when there is a "real" daughter alive. Due to her own ingenuity and the assumed loyalty of her daughters, Lim So-lan need not worry about support for her old age, but she must be satisfied with a pseudo-family that will end with her death. She no longer dreams of a house that can be enlarged to shelter generations of descendants—an apartment in a row house is her present and she has no future. If after her death anyone thinks to make an ancestral tablet for her, it will rest uneasily on an altar dominated by other surnames—a meaningless piece of wood, a link without a chain.

423 each household received a number of one-eighteenth sections. Subsequent to the division, some households continued developing land, creating additional plots more remote from the village center. Additional households migrated in and others died off. Some plots were purchased and others were developed. This historical pattern meant the villagers had started with smaller than average plot sizes.

• 428 The traditional Chinese pattern of equal inheritance by all the sons compounded the problem. In practice, equal inheritance often meant that if a man had four sons and four plots of land, each son obtained one-fourth of each plot. Conceivably, each son could have received one of the four plots, but plots regularly vary in quality and convenience to the village center and it usually proved impossible to find four that were equal.

423 There were counter-trends to the fragmentation. An individual might inherit two neighboring pieces from father and uncle or he might buy a piece neighboring his own. There was some consolidation by trading. Men who owned two small adjacent plots in two different locations could trade one plot in order to own two in only one location. This occurred but was infrequent because of the necessity for establishing equality. The only such consolidation that took place during our stay in the village, involved a trade of a slightly more valuable .008 chia

597 sold, probably because they are illegitimate and rather
562 than a matchmaker, there is a broker. The going price in
[435] Hsin Tien in 1966, although the supply was most limited, was $3,000.00 for a baby boy. Since a girl could be purchased in the same way for less than $300.00, the price is indicative of their respective value ratings. The only adopted boys who had a high birth order were usually adopted between patrilineally related kinsmen.

Family Division and Inheritance

428 The above described processes are used along with
562 birth to build families. Conversely, the breakdown of a family is also a significant step, usually accomplished by family division, a legal event requiring registration in the public office. Family division can be smooth and harmonious but is usually a period of tension for disputes over the division of property are common. It is usual to employ a distant relative, often a respected ch'in ch'i (affinal relative), to negotiate and mediate the division. Some people gain reputations as being very skillful in mediating family divisions.

According to the law (C. K. Yang, 1959b:92), there should be no differences in shares according to sex but in practice, girls rarely get a share equal to boys. It appears that it is considered to be the family's responsibility to see a daughter properly married and living with her husband. If she is an old maid, a widow, or a

• 428 562 divorcee who has returned home, she may receive a share about equal to her brothers but since marriage and remarriage is common, the occurrence of these conditions is infrequent. If family division occurs with yet unmarried daughters in the household, part of the process will be an assumption of the obligation to see that each has a good match. The implications of the equal inheritance law is such that if there were two boys and a girl in a family, each should receive one third of the estate (assuming both parents are dead). In Sanlei, each boy would get one half if the girl was married. If she was not married, one brother, most likely the eldest, would get a larger share, the extra amount sufficient to provide a dowry for his sister. Only if the girl were married with an adopted-in husband (chao fu) or if her eventual marriage prospects were nearly nil would she obtain a one-third share. Girls appear to sign papers when it is occasionally necessary to give up their rights without pressure, but often it is merely understood that the daughter has few, if any, rights. No female has yet contested a division in the courts.

The immediately preceding action of females does not appear consistent with what I have argued about the status of women. That is, women seem to be extremely inferior to men with respect to inheritance although I claim women approach equality with men but I believe the appearance is

428 562 deceiving. To support my position, note that nearly 100% of the females in Sanlei eventually marry. Widows and 428 562 587 589 divorcees in an age bracket when family division is likely to occur, i.e., when their father is around age 60, also have nearly 100% success in obtaining second husbands. There is agreement in the village that a man is responsible for supporting his female dependents although they too may make economic contributions through their own efforts. An unmarried female is the responsibility of her natal family (adopting family if adopted) while a married female is the responsibility of her husband's family. This responsibility continues even after her husband dies. That is, if a family containing a widow and her children plus her husband's brother were to divide, the widow and her brother-in-law would share equally if her remarriage prospects were low. However, without children, as previously stated, she is not fully incorporated in her husband's family and would not share, but a childless widow is still a prime marriage prospect. In Sanlei, a widow is usually helped to remarry by obtaining a dowry from her first husband's family. If she has children, she is usually expected to have an adopted-in husband. If she has many children, her first husband's family may offer a second prospective groom one of the children in adoption (changing his surname) as an inducement to become a chao fu. There was one such case in Sanlei and two in Szulei. A daughter with a chao fu

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428 husband will get a full share of her parent's estate al-
562 though her husband may receive a portion of her share as specified in the original marriage contract.

In summary, the traditional system did provide for a woman by assigning some man responsibility for her economic welfare. The new system of inheritance which makes women equal to men in economic terms is also designed to provide for women but in a different manner. The old system works and no woman has yet decided to attempt to introduce the new system into the village because the immediate personal gain might not offset the potential long-term security for women currently provided by the community.

In general, division of a family involves the male patriline. Family division can best be viewed as anticipated inheritance. All a man's sons have rights to his property even while he is still in active control. For example, sale of a piece of property may be of questionable validity without the approval of a man's sons. In Sanlei, if there is only one son (producing a stem family) family division will probably never occur. If there are two or more sons, division is most likely when the youngest son marries and has a child, but if the father dies before the last son is married, division is likely to occur soon after the funeral. Most divisions occur before the death of the last parent.

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59 Inheritance, real or anticipated in the case of division before the death of parents, is equal for all sons (with exceptions to be discussed later). Diagrammed in Figure 9 is a patrilineal descent group which we will assume represents a single chia with division about to occur. Conceivably, division could produce various combinations of new chia but in Sanlei, the actual division will nearly always produce three new units: (2,5), (3,6), and (4), each unit receiving an equal share. Variations reflect the condition of (1) or (4). (1) may be attached to one of the three units; (1) may constitute a separate unit with an equal or partial share to be later split again after his death; or (1) may be a separate unit with no share but supported by the other three on a rotating basis. If (4) is unmarried, he may be attached, with his share, to one of the first two groups with a strong tendency for the parents to remain with the youngest son (4).

Almost always, a division focuses on one generational level only. That is, (5) or (6) never break off into distinct units at the time (2), (3) and (4) are dividing. It is possible that (2) and (5) could break off as a single unit and leave the rest of the original family as a whole, but this never takes place. If (2) insists on breaking off, the whole family will divide into the three units posited above although if only (2) is insistent, there may be above average amounts of bitterness generated.

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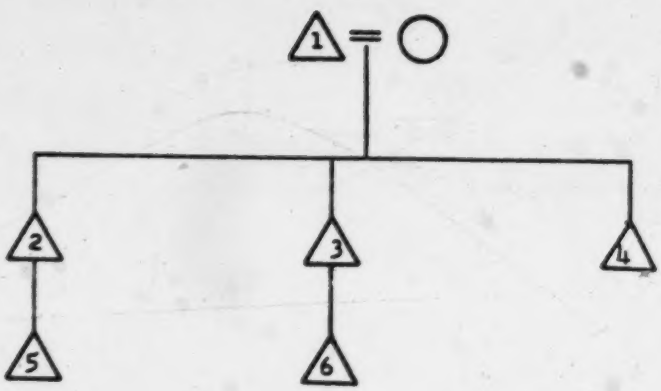

Figure 9. Kinship Diagram, Patrilineal Descent Group

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561 At the beginning of this discussion related to Figure 9, exceptions to equal inheritance were mentioned. In addition to the variation just described for the senior generation, there is one for the junior generation. In the junior generation, only (5), the oldest son's oldest son, receives a share but it is not the equal of the others. It is often quite minor, varying for individual cases, but everyone in the village agrees that this individual should have something in spite of the fact his siblings and cousins receive nothing. This boy also has special ritual requirements for his grandfather's funeral, i.e., he wears the mourning clothes of a son instead of the mourning clothes of a grandson.

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59 Inheritance would be about the same as the above description for division. Assuming the old man (1) dies,

the Sanlei family will inevitably divide into the three units described above, i.e., (2,5), (3,6), and (4).

The major original defining characteristic of the household (hu) was those who cook and eat together. Family division frequently appears to revolve around this function. It would appear that if a household divided in half, the two new units could cook and eat separately but continue to share a single stove, but this never occurs. A new stove must be constructed; hopefully, the stove will be in a separate room but if space is not available, a second stove will be built in the original kitchen. Each new household will then share the kitchen but use their own stove. A popular method of referring to family division is to call it "the separation of the stove" (see Glossary C). To refer back to the previous discussion, in a divided family with the old folks alive, they will never have a separate stove. They either eat in turn with each new unit or eat regularly with one unit while the others contribute food.

Basis for a Diachronic Approach to the Family

The foregoing has provided both a static view of the distribution of family types in the village and an explanation of various mechanisms which affect its membership and existence: birth, marriage, adoption, and division. I now propose a dynamic view of the family life cycle designed to reveal the major patterns in the village. In other